/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the
●[789] ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their
[775] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bush-
[769] men have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the
753 part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over
755 the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their
776 religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably
756 also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!

[11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own. One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 782 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a journey:

χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai kháira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil:

Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 796 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

[49 cont.]

755 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief
756 spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even
796 from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended;
the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

[184]
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1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald, Völkerkunde [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has given a similar account from the south: "One foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

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When the excitement of the dance has reached its climax and the dancers have fallen into a kind of trance as a result of the continuous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

[49 cont.]

756 786 789 796

glowing all too brightly. On the other hand, I was surprised when on the occasion of such a religious dance the so-called great doctor -- after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

753 796

[50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary [775] spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

756 796

The doctors have their supernatural power directly from the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

●789 [539] 796 People turn directly to the great captain when they need rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !garǎ gurĭ dee oa ǂam — Why does it not rain?
ǀ'uǎ dĕ rá /gaa !ái /gaa — Which lord is holding back the rain?

/gǎm khui hē — The sun is hot.
!kŭng-ná gurĭ /gŏá /gŏá — Will man live?
//gauǎna tani /gee ǂgáo — Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hŏŏ !koa — Where is man supposed to drink?
!kung ō dshn-ă
//gaa /a //goĕ !kung — If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
/n a //goĕ
!kună //goĕ ne oa — What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hā m tam ná — We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!
/n gĕĕ

756 789 787 796 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting. The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of [775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gǎ́-é dsó-jā̃ /gaa — We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē̃ gā̃ djusǎ̃ !kho ǎ́dshója /ga — Then we rejoice all together.
//ē̃ gā̃ hin a /gaa /gaa — Then the rain comes.
da //goǎ́ dshn !gu da adschŏ́éa χ'u — Then the people praise the lord.

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Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

NARON
AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the
[842] horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
843 spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
845 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

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Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

*Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large [789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon [535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, [534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They 794 787 821 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, especially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 821 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

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The same informant gave more information about 'making cloud'. He said:[1] 821
'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, 'that it (thus) happens to us if we [775]
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade"; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall 'sitting green in the sky', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching [869] old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair 'gives'. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain 'fears' it. (*Koa*, the word 'to fear', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about [23]
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice 623
of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

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623 about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but
821 an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say
789 to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

171 There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure
821 plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *guri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is
789 danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such
535 as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong'
796 things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They
755 are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//ganasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked
[82] Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

821 A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems
825 not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an intetest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

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A party of /Kung men had gone hunting towards the west. John, our son, was with them. In the afternoon there appeared in the western sky three little white clouds, like three powder-puffs in a neat row. They were the first clouds to be seen since the big rains had ended in March. We ran to each other, pointing them out. People felt happy. In the evening, when the hunters returned, ≠Toma came at once to me, before he put down his bow and quiver, and said that I could see for myself what it meant to ≠*gani* an animal. John had ≠*gani*(ed) the wildebeest he shot, and the clouds had appeared immediately above them. ≠Toma said this was what he had been trying all along to explain to me.

If a hunter knows with certainty that he has ≠*gani*(ed) or ‖*ghui*(ed) an animal, as it was known when John killed the wildebeest that he had ≠*gani*(ed) it, he may take the horns and the scalp and forehead bone and hang them in a tree, remembering where they are and whether they had been ≠*gani*(ed) or ‖*ghui*(ed). If need should arise he could get the horns which were appropriate to the need and burn them in a specially made fire away from the cooking-fires. He would take a piece of the burning horn and point it to the sky saying '*goichi goichi goichi n!ow qui*'. This we were told is 'speaking *n!ow*'. The interpreters did not know and could not find out by questioning people what the words mean. We wonder if they are an archaic spell. The horns must be entirely consumed by the fire.

In *Bushman Folklore*[1] there is a reference to the burning of horns in a very interesting myth about the Rain Bull, related to Dr. Bleek in 1878 by a Bushman from Strontbergen (30° S., 22° E.) whose dialect included the fifth click of the southern group, as the Katkop dialect does. In this myth a young woman cleverly saves herself from being carried away on the back of the Rain Bull to the water-pit where she would have been turned into a frog, and all of her people also would have become frogs. At the end of the myth the informant who related it said, 'The old women who had been out seeking food were those who came to burn horns, while they desired that the smell of the horns should go up, so that the Rain should not be angry with them.'

A hunter has another way of controlling the weather. To bring rain he would cut the throat of an animal he had reason to believe he habitually ≠*gani*(ed), or to stop rain, one he habitually ≠*ghui*(ed). The blood, which is ordinarily saved and eaten, would be allowed to flow on to the ground. A giraffe is the best animal for blood-letting. The forms and colours of the clouds are like giraffes, the /Kung remarked. We asked if human beings cut themselves and used their blood to start or stop rain as they do their urine or hair. The /Kung said, No, they did not. That would be unnecessarily painful.

As far as we know the /Kung did not attempt to control the weather by these means while we were with them, as they did not resort to burning urine or hair of persons. Perhaps this was because the weather took its normal, expected, seasonal course. Furthermore, we did not experience its most severe extremes for very long periods, and found it on the whole quite bearable. Or perhaps the concept of controlling weather by means of burning urine, hair or horns or letting blood, exists more in lore than in active practice. Or perhaps the long unchanging months do not stimulate the idea of actively attempting to control weather and the people content themselves with explaining rather than controlling. They appeared in many instances to have the

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 193 ff.

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169 821 attitude of accepting resignedly what befell. It seemed to be in keeping with their habits of thought that Gao said to us, ' When Bara comes (the season of the rains) and the rains do not fall, we desire and wait.'

Résumé

LE N/OW

000 La *N/ow* est une croyance des Boschimans /Kung de la région autour de Nyae Nyae, dans l'Afrique Sud-ouest, touchant la pluie et le froid. Il tombe dix pouces environ de pluie au cours d'une année moyenne dans cette partie du désert du Kalahari, ce qui est suffisant pour maintenir une végétation de couverture comprenant de l'herbe, des arbustes et des arbrisseaux. Cette végétation, désignée *veldkos* en langue taal, comprend de nombreuses racines, feuilles, fruits et noix comestibles. Les /Kung, seuls habitants de l'intérieur de cette région, sont des nomades qui vivent de la chasse et de la cueillette. Ils ont à subir de grandes difficultés si les pluies sont insuffisantes et il en résulte que le veldkos est sec et épars. Ils disent que la pluie est vivifiante et que le soleil est mortel. Les grandes pluies tombent en été; elles commencent fin décembre ou en janvier et persistent jusqu'en mars; quelques averses rares tombent quelquefois au cours des mois de septembre, octobre et novembre. Les /Kung considèrent les nuages minces, qui ne donnent pas de pluie, comme étant du sexe masculin, et les gros nuages comme des femelles. La pluie elle-même est mâle ou femelle suivant la force avec laquelle elle tombe. Les mois d'automne qui suivent les pluies sont les meilleurs mois de l'année et les /Kung parcourent la région en faisant la chasse et la cueillette du veldkos nouveau. L'hiver est la saison sèche, avec un soleil brûlant pendant le jour et un froid glacial pendant la nuit; la plupart des mares se tarissent. Le *n/ow* est une chose qui influence les conditions atmosphériques et on l'appelle ' néfaste ' s'il apporte le froid et ' bon ' s'il apporte la pluie. Le *n/ow* n'est pas visible, mais on croit qu'il est présent dans tous les êtres humains et dans certains grands animaux; toutefois, il n'existe dans rien d'autre. Le bon ou le mauvais *n/ow* s'introduit dans un enfant avant sa naissance et il demeure chez cet individu pendant toute sa vie. Il n'y a aucun moyen de modifier l'espèce de *n/ow* qu'une personne possède et ce *n/ow* n'est pas héréditaire. L'espèce de *n/ow* est révélée en observant les conditions atmosphériques au moment de la naissance de l'enfant, ou peu de temps après. Le *n/ow* d'un être humain peut aussi influencer les conditions atmosphériques au moment de sa mort. Il existe dans le corps et il est associé avec le liquide utérin, l'urine, et la chevelure. L'association entre la chevelure et les nuages est constatée parmi d'autres tribus boschimans, mais le rapport n'est pas très clairement défini chez les /Kung. Ils croient qu'une partie du *n/ow* appartenant à un individu se trouve dans la chevelure et que lorsque les cheveux (ou l'urine) sont consumés dans le feu le *n/ow* est dégagé dans l'air avec l'odeur. Il monte au ciel et la pluie ' en a peur '. De cette façon, il deviendrait possible d'utiliser le *n/ow* des gens pour faire tomber ou arrêter la pluie. Étant donné que les /Kung n'ont pas de ' faiseurs de pluie ' officiels, ni de rites pour invoquer la pluie, la cérémonie aurait probablement lieu d'une façon officieuse, de manière à échapper à l'attention des observateurs. Les animaux peuvent également avoir un bon ou un mauvais *n/ow* mais le fait d'en posséder un n'a aucun rapport avec le sexe ou une espèce quelconque. Un chasseur peut tuer un animal, de façon à influer sur les conditions atmosphériques, mais, dans ce cas, c'est une question de chance et non pas de choix. Il peut également garder les cornes et les brûler, afin d'invoquer la pluie, ou trancher la gorge de l'animal en laissant le sang couler par terre. Cependant, les /Kung n'ont fait usage d'aucune de ces méthodes pendant le temps que l'auteur est resté parmi eux, sans doute parce que le temps a suivi son cours normal ou parce que les /Kung sont habitués à accepter ce qui advient.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Gikwe

764 775 move away because they cannot bear to leave the dead person, because they want to make sure that animals do not spoil his body, and because, said Ukwane, "He is our person, whom we love. We do not want to leave until we have given up hope."

764 775 789 824 We learned one other thing, and that was that the Gikwe put a medicine power, a fragrant brown powder made of an herb called *sasa*, in the norstrils of the dead person, and sprinkled his body with sasa before the burial. This, said Ukwane, is done to ensure heavy rain in the rainy season, but also it may well have to do with protecting the living from the spirit of the dead. We did not learn more about this because Bushmen will talk about any subject you may name except the subject of the spirits of the dead. The Kung respect and fear spirits more than any other thing, and only after a year of trying did we learn about them; the Gikwe seem to feel the same way, and for that reason we did not expect to learn very much. We did find, however, that the spirits 775 of the dead are called, at least sometimes, the *kwe be ha ki* (person who is not here), and that these spirits travel in the [82] wind—not in open, blowing wind, but in whirlwinds; that is why the Gikwe Bushmen avoid whirlwinds, because a spirit might be there to carry them away. Once a whirlwind passing through our camp uprooted a tent and carried it spinning to the sky. Possibly, explained the Bushmen, a spirit of the dead thought that there was a person inside, although sometimes the spirits cause only mischief.

764 184 With the Kung, the funeral customs are very much the same as those of the Gikwe. The body is folded into a sitting position and bound, but the head is bowed down to the knees. Beads and a kaross ornament the body, which is also lowered into the grave and buried upright, but thereafter the custom

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the old man with a funeral, and they had had to abandon his sister's body as it was.

The headman lifted the old man from the ground and we saw that he had not been weeping but had only been lying inert and helpless, powerless now to keep himself erect. On our truck he lay just where we put him, motionless, prone, all the way back. We passed the grove where his sister lay, a grove of high white trees with red beans on their branches, and the old man did not turn his head to look.

After that, the situation for the people who remained at Gautscha got better because the summer came. Great cloud-banks like mountains formed at the horizon, dispersed themselves in brown haze, and formed again, getting larger day by day. Some of the bands who had left Gautscha began to return and once again the countryside was populous, the air filled with the murmur of voices and the smell of smoke from the many fires. Some of the men went hunting and shot a giraffe, so there was lots of meat for a while.

One day some of us went to a place called Kubi Pan to see a cheetah that was supposed to live there, but instead we saw a flock of guinea fowl walking along in single file as people do, raising a cloud of dust. Two of them began to fight because it was their mating season. When we got to Kubi it was evening and the clouds on the horizon were very thick, and just when the sun set into them the full moon rose on the other side, causing a balance of the two great bodies over the earth.

It seemed to be an auspicious night. On the way home we felt something electric in the air and when we got to Gautscha the moon had risen high and pale in the clouds and we found that the Bushmen were dancing the rain dance. Everyone was there, the women all singing and the men wheeling

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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789 in a circle around the dance fire, the clouds of dust rising under their feet making them look like specters in the eerie light between the fire and the moon. The dance was very powerful. The men wheeled faster, the singing mounted in pitch. A medicine man coming from a far werf and singing as he came sprang among the dancers like a leopard, soft-footed and fine, and as he looked around him for a moment before beginning to dance, the moon behind his head filled a white ostrich feather in his hair with light. He smiled to himself, then, dancing suddenly, led the other dancers in a serpentine track through the circle of women, over the fire, and out the other side. The wind blew hard along the ground, and the smoke and fire streamed into the veld. The singing was very hard, very fast, and as the dancers swung around the circle dancing harder and faster, it suddenly began to rain.

It was like a miracle. It was the first rain of the year. First, there were just a few drops, but soon it was raining steadily in gusts behind the wind, causing the dancers to relax a little but to continue their dancing without paying attention to the fact that they were drenched. A bolt of lightning illuminated the veld for miles around with a blue-green light not of this world, showing all the trees and bushes stark and rain-lashed in the grass, then a blast of thunder as the light went out which struck us deaf as the lightning had struck us blind. For a moment it was black and still except for the lashing rain, and in the silence we heard a lion roaring far out in the veld, answered by another lion which was a little nearer, and then a peal of thunder shook them silent, drowning even their great voices.

132 The people had not danced to bring the rain; they had [789] known that rain was coming and had danced to use its strong medicine. It rained all night, the rain so drenching and torrential that it put out the dance fire and drove the dancers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people 361
of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold 621
important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water every- 312
where, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One 222
of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at 262
this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the pow- [778]
erful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are 778
the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every 789
year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act.

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not [842]
to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have 789
had three children, are expected to protect themselves and 885
also to protect young people of the same sex.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

789 also to protect young people of the same sex. The choa ceremonies are performed in the Veld Food Season for each of the powerful veld foods as they ripen. The ceremony itself is simple; in order to choa tsi, for example, an old woman simply chews a mouthful of tsi with a few bites of a root called *shasha* if shasha is available or any one of certain other permissible roots if shasha is not, and spits the resulting paste into her palms. If she is choaing herself she washes her hands in the paste; if she is choaing a younger woman she rubs the paste on the young woman's arms and chest. It is an important ceremony, for no young person would think of eating tsi without it, but it is at the same time a casual, household ceremony, done without fuss or audience; oftener than not, it will be performed in the morning before breakfast, say, or when the woman is resting for a moment in the veld, ceasing her digging to drink a sip of water. It is a powerful ceremony, though, for the woman choaed may then eat tsi in safety for a whole year, until the next season when it ripens again.

731 That year, in the Veld Food Season, there was a tragedy and also a wedding. The tragedy took place late one afternoon when a baby girl, playing house with a real fire, burned down her grandfather's grass scherm, thus destroying everything her grandparents owned, everything they had made over a lifetime. The two old people had been very industrious and the wife a prolific maker of ostrich-eggshell beads.

At the start of the blaze a great crowd of people gathered, arriving just in time to see the baby girl run out of the scherm as it collapsed in flames behind her. She ran straight to her [262] mother and sat at her feet, ignoring the great crowd of people and placidly eating one of her grandfather's leather sandals which she had rescued from the fire and which, she found, had been cooked to a turn. No one was angry with the child,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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walk at night and people are afraid of them, but they do not expect real harm from them. If seen, the apparitions resemble people."[1] 775

The same word was given three meanings by some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami—"dream, ghost, spirit." It is met with again among the !O Kung of Angola, by whom it is sometimes used for "ghost", sometimes more impersonally. Miss Bleek was told by one of her female informants that when a person dies there rises from the grave the ghost, *//gāũa*, which can be seen by magicians. This woman claimed to be a magician, and said that she and her co-workers could conjure up *//gāũa* by dancing and singing. In what form he appeared and whether she looked on the apparition as the spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another woman's death was described as follows: "She died, became a ghost, people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."[2] [192] [189]

A good deal of new information on this subject is contained in the reports recently published by Lebzelter on his researches among the Kung and the Heikum.[3] The Eastern Kung, he says, believe that the vital principle ("Lebensprinzip") of a man is his soul, *xa*, which is immortal. When a man dies, this soul is fetched by the spirits, *//Gauab*, whose hearth fires are the stars, and is taken by them to the sky hut ("Himmelshaus") of the "great captain" *Xu*. This hut has two storeys, in the upper of which dwell the souls of all people, including even those of the whites. They do nothing there and also eat nothing. The body is buried, but after a few days the flesh becomes "alive" and then disappears: out of it has arisen the *//gauab* of the dead person, in the form of a smaller image or "shade" which issues from the grave, hunts, eats, and drinks just as in life, and when tired goes to sleep in its house, the grave. These shades cannot enter into or transform themselves into stones, plants, or animals; apparently they retain the human form only. The Kung of the Oschimpoloveld, again, believe that every man has a soul, */gau-ba*, which after death comes into the "house of God" (*Erob*) in the sky. Dead people are therefore now the people who are with "God", and after a while "God" again makes living beings out of them. [114] [776]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul, *darish*, goes up into the sky to */Gamab*, a "demiurge", who places the heart in cold water and eats it [776]

[1] *The Naron*, 26.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 141; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123, 124.
[3] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun," 409–12 *passim*; *idem*, "Bei den 'Kun'-Buschleuten," 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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spirit remains active about the place, and they do not want to offend it."[1] 775 769

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation. 114 775 769 [184]

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be 775 [753] [769] 114 184 769 789

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147–8. [2] *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 22.

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asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman mythology is extremely rich.[1]

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.

[2] *Naron*, 26–7.

[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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773 776 Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hemm*, the All-devourer, but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself. She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified [821] with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children, */kwammanga-⊙pwa*, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet like his father, and */ni*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech, which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again. He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention [751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 825 821 The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought 821 825 of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole, and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One [789] of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–9; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 5–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; *idem*, *Bushman Folklore*, 305.

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faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.' So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.' Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians. The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications, sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind, if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination. Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood, leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159, Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, XX, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.

[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.